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POINTED PARAGRAPHS



“MERIT SYSTEM”

VS. THE

“SPOILS SYSTEM”

IN RE THE

AMERICAN  
CONSULAR  
SERVICE

By Prominent Manufacturers, Merchants,  
Bankers, Statesmen, Eminent Educators  
and the Press

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FIFTH EDITION

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ISSUED BY

THE NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE  
OF AMERICA

AN ALLIANCE OF LEADING DIVERSIFIED BUSINESS  
INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR THE  
PROMOTION OF NATIONAL LEGISLATION AND AD-  
VANCEMENT OF AMERICAN COMMERCE AND  
INDUSTRIES.

CHICAGO, U. S. A.

1907-1909

## FOREWORD

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Consular Bill No. 1345 was enacted on the fifth day of April, 1906.

The new law, which became effective on the thirtieth day of June, 1906, classifies and grades the service; substitutes salaries for fees (excepting as to consular agents); revises the salary list; provides for temporary transfer of certain consular officials by the President; appointment of five inspectors of consulates, and abolishes the grade of commercial agent; partially Americanizes the service, and forbids consular officers above a certain grade to engage in private law practice; requires consular officials to perform notarial acts for fees specified by law; abolishes personal fees (excepting as to consular agents), and empowers the President to fix rates for certifying invoices.

While the enacted provisions are component parts of the indispensable basis of true consular reorganization, yet, lacking that vital provision for the merit system—stricken from the bill as originally framed—the law gives no assurance of a *permanent betterment* of the consular service, nor inducement to the educated, ambitious young man to make a career therein. The only point of admission to the service should be at the lowest grade, thence by promotion upward through the higher grades, precisely as young men enter business life with certainty of advancement proportional to demonstrated efficiency. True, the discarded provisions of the consular bill have been covered by executive order, which is now operative, but the remedy will not be permanent until the entire consular measure is placed on the national statute-book.

The National Business League having earnestly advocated the bill as first drafted, but having neither urged nor encouraged the bill in its mutilated condition as passed, will persistently continue its campaign for the enactment of the *merit system*, language clause, age limit and other necessary provisions which were eliminated from the original bill.



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CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTIONALITY  
OF THE MERIT SYSTEM.

Upon the enactment and faithful observance of a provision for the *merit system*, which would completely remove the consular service from the sphere of political domination, depends the *permanence* of consular improvement. Without that safeguard the consular law, enacted April 5, 1906, will make consular appointments more mutually attractive to the political spoilsman and his political creditor.

Against the *merit system* the plea of unconstitutionality has occasionally been raised, and while it is true that the Constitution provides (Article II, Section II) that "The president shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate," to appoint consuls, yet in the opinion of some of the highest authorities the enactment of a law to thoroughly test the qualifications of the applicant, making merit the *open sesame* to appointment and promotion, would perfectly accord with the spirit and purpose of the Constitution.

In this connection an eminent authority has stated to the League that in the Consular Bill, No. 1345, as originally drafted, "*Congress simply was asked to establish, with the president's concurrence, the same sort of rules for appointments in the consular service that have long been established and maintained in regard to appointments in the Army and Navy. Regulations of this kind are practically effective and there is no earthly reason why Congress and the President should not agree upon them just as they have agreed upon them as to the Army and Navy. The difference between regulations so agreed upon, incorporated in a statute, and regulations made by the President alone is largely a difference of permanence. If they are put in the statute they will continue indefinitely. If they are only established by an Executive Order, they are liable to be changed as administrations change.*"

In an argument for the enactment of the original Lodge Bill, before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representa-

tives, January 25, 1900, the late John W. Eila, then the General Counsel of the National Business League, referred to the constitutionality of the *merit system* as follows:

"The question of the constitutionality of a law which requires the appointments of consuls to be only made from persons who have passed an examination—in view of the fact that the Constitution puts the appointment of consuls into the hands of the President, with the approval of the Senate—has, I know, been raised at various times.

"Upon the examination of this question we believe that even if a bill should be so framed it would not be held unconstitutional. The question has not been raised in the Supreme Court of the United States, but there are decisions of state supreme courts that requirements of the same character in civil service laws which direct that the appointment shall be made of one out of three applicants found to be fit by examination do not take the power of appointment away from the appointing officer, but are merely regulations for ascertaining qualifications, and are constitutional.

"The same principle seems to have been acted upon by Congress in its legislation on consular matters, for in 1855, and later, it has prescribed where consuls shall be sent, and their rank and salaries. But no President could refuse to be governed by a requirement of this nature when public opinion so plainly demands that it be obeyed, and therefore the question of its constitutionality would not be raised. In any event, this bill is not subject to such an objection.

"The constitutional requirement that these appointments must be approved by the Senate is no objection to the plan we propose. They would be submitted to the Senate for its approval just the same. If the Senate did not approve, then new names taken from the fittest as determined by the examination, would be submitted, as the President now has to submit new names when the first ones are not approved, and so in the end the fittest would be appointed, or the position remain vacant, '



which case the fault would be with the Senate."

In this connection Luther Laffin Mills, of Chicago, has briefly expressed an opinion as follows:

"The question of the constitutionality of a law, such as that which is proposed as to the consular service, providing that the exercise of the power of nomination to office, conferred upon the executive by the constitution, shall in any wise be limited or regulated by legislation, has never been distinctly passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States. However, by the supreme courts of several of the states, in cases involving civil service laws, the constitutionality of similar legislation has been sustained, as having the effect not of depriving the executive of his constitutional power of nomination, but as simply regulating its exercise; and even though the federal legislators might disagree as to the constitutionality of the proposed consular service law, it could hardly be doubted that its adoption would be practically effective in guiding the executive in his exercise of the nominating power in accordance with the merit system."

#### CREATION OF AN EXAMINING BOARD.

The personnel of an Examining Board is important, and should, in the opinion of the League, be made up from several kindred departments of the Government, so as to broaden the scope of examinations as much as possible, with special reference to the advancement of our industrial interests through the enlargement of our foreign commerce. The League therefore recommends that the Board consist of three members, as follows:

The Chief of the Consular Bureau of the Department of State; the Chief of the Bureau of Manufactures of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and the Chief Examiner of the Civil Service Commission.

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**PROMOTION FOR UNDER-OFFICERS AND CLERKS.**

The Executive Order makes vice and deputy-consuls, consular agents and clerks eligible for promotion to consulships. This is an excellent provision and will be incorporated in the consular amendment bill.

Clerks or officials from the Department of State or other department of the Government should not be transferred to the consular service except to the lowest grade, and that after a thorough and satisfactory examination, as transfer to the upper grades would seriously interfere with the natural course of promotion from grade to grade.

It is a fixed and just policy of business life that there shall be no limit to the deserving employé, between the lowest and uppermost round of the ladder of advancement. The consular service should be essentially a business department of the Government, and in its direction there should be no departure from general business rules.

**COMPLETE AMERICANIZATION.**

The new consular law falls far short of Americanizing the service. Section Five simply provides that "No person who is not an American citizen shall be appointed hereafter in any consulate-general or consulate to any *clerical* position, the salary of which is one thousand dollars a year or more." The Executive Order of June 27, 1906, however, Americanizes the personnel of the service as to consular officials, but without a law to cover, that arrangement is liable to be revoked by any future administration. Every consulate should be Americanized, by law, from the highest official to the janitor; making the service *American in fact as well as in name*.

It is useless to expect foreigners to take a keen and partial interest in advancing our trade interests abroad. Their obligations and inclinations should and do lie in other directions, and yet we confide to them our vital com-

mercial secrets and then expect satisfactory results. Only bright, industrious, loyal, aggressive, yet tactful young Americans should be placed at our foreign commercial outposts.

### TERM OF SERVICE.

While a long-term service is of the greatest importance, the consular law should be so framed that a consular official or an employé who is not thoroughly efficient at his post should be removed therefrom immediately, and either transferred to some consulate where the environment and duties are more suited to his nature and abilities, or quickly discharged from the service if incompetent, or for misconduct.

None of the red-tape proceedings for dispensing with an inefficient official should be permitted in the American Consular Service, or any Government department, such as are allowed in Germany, where, if a consular official objects to his retirement, his highest superior office shall appoint a referee to take the testimony of witnesses or experts and allow the official or his guardian to be present. In the event that the order of retirement is sustained after these proceedings by the highest superior office, the official has to bear the actual expenses of these proceedings. An appeal can, however, be taken to the federal council (Bundesrath) within four weeks; the official, pending its decision, has at once to be relieved from duty.

Our Department of State now has five inspectors of Consulates, covering all foreign commercial centers with their investigations. Through this system the Government will be kept perfectly advised of the excellencies and defects of the consular service, thus making delay in transferring misplaced officials or relieving useless officials entirely unnecessary.

### ADEQUATE SALARIES.

Ample compensation to our consular officials is imperative if competent men are to make a career in the service and best results are to be

realized. Most of our consuls are greatly underpaid. The salaries are larger under the new consular law; but that, as stated by Secretary Root, "is really but a readjustment and a turning into salary of compensation already received by way of fees." Efficient service in every avenue of human endeavor is justly entitled to its equivalent; a maxim generally observed in commercial and industrial life, and which should be practiced in every department of the Government. While rigid precaution should be used against waste, there is a reasonable medium between extravagance and stinginess. With larger salaries, however, the *merit system* should become operative by law. "Useless each without the other."

#### CONSULAR PENSIONS.

The United States Government has not, as yet, made operative a system of civil pensions. In this, especially so far as our foreign service is concerned, we are far behind the great commercial nations, our chief competitors in the markets of the world. Notably, Great Britain, France and Germany have consular pension systems of long standing. The following general outlines will illustrate:

##### CONSULAR PENSIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Pensions are paid to officials of the British Consular Service after ten years from appointment—before which time no pensions can be claimed, although one is sometimes granted under extraordinary conditions, as follows: One-sixtieth of salary for each year served, the salary to be counted as the average amount drawn in the last three years of service, but no person is allowed a pension greater than two-thirds of such salary, so that after forty years' service no further increase is allowed. Under a recent regulation consular officers cannot be appointed before they are twenty-five and must retire at sixty-five, except under special circumstances, when they are allowed to stay at their posts until they are seventy.

For a Chancellor of Con-  
sulate .....Frs. 1,800      \$247.40

#### CONSULAR PENSIONS IN GERMANY.

The German federal law of March 31st, 1873, regulates the question of pensions of all federal officials, including consuls. Every official who receives his official income out of the federal treasury, receives out of the latter a yearly pension, if, after a service of at least ten years, he is, in consequence of a physical infirmity, or on account of weakness of his physical and intellectual strength, permanently disabled from fulfilling his official duties.

If such disability is the result of a disease, wound or other injury which the official incurred in attending to his official duties, or as a result of doing so, without his own fault, the official is entitled to a pension before having served ten years. This pension is fixed at at least one-fourth of the official income the pensioner did have.

If an official becomes disabled for other reasons before having served ten years, the federal council (Bundesrath) is authorized to grant him a temporary pension, or one for life if he is in needy circumstances; but such a pension is not to exceed one quarter of the official income which the pensioner had. If the pensioned official had his post of duty abroad, he is entitled to the expenses of his removal to a place of residence within the German Empire, which he may choose.

If the official becomes entitled to a pension after ten years of service, and before having completed the eleventh year, the pension amounts to 20-80 of the yearly official income, and for every additional year of service is increased 1-80 until the pension reaches 60-80 of such income. With salaried consuls who for more than one year were stationed in Eastern and Central Asia, or Central and South America, these years count double.

A federal official who on account of blindness, deafness, or any other infirmity, or for reason of weakness of his physical or intel-

the commerce of his country, the American Consular official who enters upon a career in a foreign country; breaking the ties that bind; leaving home, kindred and valued friends behind; and, after prolonged absence, returns to his native land practically a stranger, his days of greatest achievement ended, so surely deserves a substantial and additional recognition of his sacrifice to the general good as does the soldier whose mission is protection.

Equitable pension systems are operative in many of the large industrial and commercial enterprises of this country, and the day is near when the practice will become general. If the plan is fit in American domestic business life, it is especially fit for adoption in the American foreign service. The League will make consular pensions the subject of a separate bill.

#### AGE LIMIT.

And this is one of the most important provisions. Hereafter old men and men above middle age should not be allowed to enter the service. A man who has reached the age of 45 or 50 years, with habits fixed and scope of knowledge largely limited by his environments in this country, will, after appointment, require several years of service abroad before he fully meets the demands of his official position. By the time he becomes really useful he is ready to retire. Thus the government gets but a short-term service from an untrained official, whereas if a competent young man, between the ages of 21 and 40 years (30 years seems preferable), be appointed to the lowest grade of the service, conditions would be very favorable for an extended term of efficient service. Business interests everywhere should urge that only *young men of ability, energy, tact and perseverance* be admitted to the consular service, and that every means available be used to induce them to make a life career in the service.

## POINTED PARAGRAPHS

### THE "MERIT SYSTEM"

VS.

### THE "SPOILS SYSTEM."

(The National Business League here presents many tersely written extracts from a large and extended correspondence on the improvement of the American Consular Service through the merit system. These opinions are not the air-castles of theorists nor professional reformers, but are the convictions of very practical and successful business men, statesmen and the press; therefore that which follows will well repay a careful reading and deliberate reflection.)

So far as the importing business is concerned, our consuls, with some few exceptions, are worthless, and if we hope to secure for our manufacturers a full share of foreign trade, the necessity for improvement in the service is apparent. It seems to me to be of the first importance that this country should be intelligently and creditably represented abroad.—MARSHALL FIELD.

The United States consular system *should be reorganized upon such a basis of appointment and tenure* as will render it still more serviceable to the nation's increasing trade.—PHILADELPHIA PLATFORM OF 1900.

I have demonstrated by acts my belief that in the selection of consuls there should be a test of fitness more in accordance with business methods and the public interests than party affiliations on the part of the applicant.—GROVER CLEVELAND.

The spoils system of making appointments to and removals from office is so wholly and un-mixedly evil; is so emphatically un-American and undemocratic, and is so potent a force for degradation in our public life, that it is difficult to believe that any intelligent man of ordinary decency who has looked into the subject can be its advocate.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

consular service has no relation what-

ever to politics, but is intimately associated with commercial affairs, and should be managed as other business matters are, on sound commercial principles.—STUYVESANT FISH.

So frame the law that every American consul who makes an honorable and useful record will be shielded from the common practice of being removed like an outcast upon the political change of every administration.—JAMES T. DU BOIS, Consul-General at Singapore, formerly Consul-General at St. Gall.

I have long believed that reorganization, with the "merit system" as its fundamental idea, is necessary, and it is needless to say that the present extensions of our foreign trade add the weightiest additional reasons for a change.—FRANKLIN MACVEAGH, Franklin MacVeagh & Company, Chicago.

The application of the *merit system* to our consular service is, in my judgment, a step in the right direction. If there is any branch of the public service at home or abroad to which the merit system should apply with more force than another it is this branch. We need in our foreign service men of experience and consular training, and *the practice of changing our consuls for political reasons is, to my mind, exceedingly pernicious.*—JULIUS C. BUBBOWS, United States Senator from Michigan.

I am in hearty accord with the National Business League in its support of the *merit system* in our consular service.—JAMES KENNEDY, Member of Congress from Ohio.

The growing importance of our export trade calls loudly for a thorough reorganization of our consular service—a reform that cannot be much longer delayed without serious results.—GEO. BURNHAM, JR., Burnham, Williams & Company, Philadelphia.

I heartily endorse the *merit system* for the appointment of American consular officials and believe that it would in a large measure remedy many of the present inefficiencies of our consular service. This branch of the government service, bearing, as it does, on our foreign commerce, should be rendered as highly



ficient as possible, and there is no way of accomplishing this except by appointing capable and competent men to the service. The *merit system*, I think, would meet this requirement.—ASBURY C. LATIMER, United States Senator from South Carolina.

I consider the movement for the establishment of the *merit system* in connection with appointments to the American consular service and for the promotion of consular officials a *grand step in the right direction*.—GEO. A. LOUD, Member of Congress from Michigan.

It must be perfectly clear to any man who gives the matter more than a moment's thought that we can never have either a consular or diplomatic service worthy of this great country until it is possible for a young man to enter one or the other with the full assurance that he is entering upon a life career. And that will never be the case until those services are taken out of partisan politics. It is safe to say that no other position under the government calls for more highly specialized preparation and training, and yet, up to this time, no other governmental positions have been bestowed with so little thought of fitness. As a rule our diplomatic positions are given to men who are wealthy enough to afford to take an office, the expenses of which far exceed the salary, and our consular positions are given as a reward for political service to men who have not spent a day in special preparation for the important work they will have to do. That our country has been able, under such circumstances, to make as good a record as it has is due solely to the remarkable adaptability of American citizens, who generally manage, somehow, to handle in a fairly creditable way the most unexpected situations. That our record would have been vastly better, however, if our consular and diplomatic service had been upon a *sound merit basis*, goes without argument. That it ought to be put upon such a basis at the earliest possible moment, does not admit of dispute.—CHARLES F. SCOTT, Member of Congress from Kansas.

From personal knowledge I am satisfied that the present consular system is inefficient and unsatisfactory, and I believe that the entire system should be reorganized on the basis of merit and personal fitness of the consul for his office.—CYRUS H. MCCORMICK, President International Harvester Company of America, Chicago.

I am heartily in sympathy with all of Secretary Root's proposals for the improvement of the consular service, and I believe that anything which can be accomplished in that line will be a matter of great national benefit.—DR. ARTHUR T. HADLEY, President Yale University.

I am heartily in sympathy with this reform. The consular service is primarily a commercial service. It should aim at all times to promote the commercial interests of our people in foreign countries. Inasmuch as its chief duty in reporting upon industrial and commercial conditions in foreign countries requires a high degree of proficiency and training to obtain the best results, it is easy to see that the great desideratum in the selection of such a body of men should be the *special fitness* and qualifications for performing the work of this important service. To this end I believe that *the consular service should be divorced from political partisanship and placed upon a merit basis*.—ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, United States Senator from Wisconsin.

I cheerfully comply with the request of the National Business League for an expression of opinion regarding the *merit system* in connection with appointments to the American Consular Service. One of the pressing questions in connection with the maintenance of our prosperity is the expansion of our foreign trade, and as the increased supply of raw and manufactured products must, from time to time, more than meet the demands of our home markets and increase our surplus, the problem will become more and more important. The trend among all the great powers is the extension of their trade. The consular service of our own and other countries must have to do more

and more with commercial rather than political problems. If the United States proposes to contend successfully against its rivals in this struggle for commerce, then we must have a consular service composed of men who have been trained and who are equipped for the discharge of their duties. It must be apparent that this result can only be accomplished by the application of the *merit system and a policy of promotion*.—JOHN H. SMALL, Member of Congress from North Carolina.

I heartily favor the *merit system* as a necessary provision in connection with appointments to and promotions in the United States Consular Service, believing that the same care and judgment should be exercised in the selection of our consular officials as would govern a representative business house in the choice of its agents.—CHARLES N. FOWLER, Member of Congress from New Jersey.

I believe that the American Consular Service would be much improved if the *merit system* is inaugurated.—ERNEST E. WOOD, Member of Congress from Missouri.

On my many trips to Europe I have come in contact with many United States consuls, and to my regret must admit that most of them lack the requisite knowledge, education and general bearing that one has a right to expect in men occupying such responsible positions.—ADOLPHUS BUSCH, President Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, St. Louis.

I heartily endorse the *merit system* in connection with appointments to the American Consular Service and for the promotion of consular officials. There is no reason why, with our admirable educational institutions, we should not secure for this service capable, well educated and good mannered young men for the foreign service. This service of ours will always remain inferior to that of other countries if we persevere in appointment through political influence.—DR. JACOB GOULD SCHUEMAN, President Cornell University.

The American consuls are the commercial  
of the country. Upon their efficiency

depends in large share our foreign business. Whatever system will insure the greatest efficiency in these positions should be adopted. If a *merit system* can be devised which will select the most competent men for these positions—and it seems reasonable to suppose that it can be—then that system should be adopted. It would be *vastly superior to any system of appointment on political backing*, and I am in favor of it.—EDMUND H. HINSHAW, Member of Congress from Nebraska.

I believe the *merit system* is one long step toward increasing the efficiency of our consular service, which I deem a matter of very great importance to our government and the interests of our people.—ABRAHAM L. BRICK, Member of Congress from Indiana.

The business men of our country will not be satisfied until they are put on an equality with their competitors in the present strife for foreign trade, and they realize that this equality cannot exist until our consular service is reorganized on the basis of merit and permanency.—S. A. HARRIS, President National Bank of Commerce, Minneapolis, Minn.

I believe the *merit system* should prevail to a large extent in the selection of American consuls.—MORRIS SHEPPARD, Member of Congress from Texas.

In the bill which Mr. Root and I drafted there was a clause which provided that appointments should be made only to the lowest grades and that the higher grades should be filled by promotion. It is needless for me to say that I believe entirely in this principle, which would be not only a great improvement, but would give what is most needed, a reasonable permanency of tenure. I regret exceedingly that this clause should have been rejected in the Senate, but those which remain are of the utmost value and are the essential foundation of improvement in the service. I hope that by Department regulation and by further alteration of the law it may be possible to establish the system of promotion.

service.—HENRY CABOT LODGE, United States Senator from Massachusetts.

Several bills providing for a new consular service have in recent years been submitted to the Congress. They are based upon the *just principle* that appointments to the service should be made only after a practical test of the applicant's fitness; that *promotions should be governed by trustworthiness, adaptability and zeal in the performance of the duty*, and that the *tenure of office should be unaffected by partisan considerations*.—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT in his first message to the Fifty-seventh Congress.

It is my earnest wish that the consular service of the United States be put on that successful business basis which has proven beneficial to so many large firms in all kinds of business, by the adoption of the "merit system."—JAMES DEERING, Vice-President International Harvester Company of America, Chicago.

The effort of the National Business League to secure the application of the *merit system* to our consular appointments has my heartiest endorsement. This has long seemed to me one of the imperative needs of our service.—DR. WOODROW WILSON, President Princeton University.

The benefits of an efficient consular service, and of a consequently enlarged trade with the rest of the world, accrue not alone to the employer, but to the vast mass of laboring men whose field is enlarged and whose opportunities are bettered by every advance made by the manufacturing and agricultural industries of this country.

To be efficient in the highest sense, the consul should be educated—First, as to the sources of and best methods of securing information. This requires an acquaintance with the officials from whom his information must come—an acquaintance which, among most foreign peoples, is of slow growth. Second, in the methods and management of public affairs.

as to the needs of the people among  
is situated, their preferences and pe-

cularities. Fourth, as to the best means of reaching them and impressing them with advertisements, etc. Fifth, as to transportation facilities, tariffs and all formalities necessary to the introduction of our goods into foreign countries.

The present average length of consular service is not sufficient to educate the incumbent for his position. He should be so protected that all his energies may be devoted to fitting himself for what should be his life work, unembarrassed by efforts to secure his reappointment or to provide for his future.—LA VERNE W. NOYES, President Aermotor Company, Chicago.

There is no excuse for a consular service at all, unless it be filled by men capable of gathering facts of value to our business interests. To avoid the incompetency in office frequently resulting from *political favoritism*, the *merit system* seems to be *invaluable and imperative* as regards this branch of our public service.—J. ADAM BEDE, Member of Congress from Minnesota.

Any bill to reform the American Consular Service would not be complete without the *merit system*. There is no question whatever but that these positions have been used for years for political purposes, without regard to the interests of the people, and it is time that vigorous protests should be sent from every section of the country. *Our merchants and manufacturers should continue to agitate the necessity for action until our combined efforts shall bring about the fruition of our hopes.*—WILLIAM H. DOUGLAS, formerly member of Congress from New York.

For many years it has been a matter of common knowledge that our consular system has been and is far short of desired efficiency. Any effort to increase the efficiency of that service will meet with my hearty approval.—THOS. H. CARTER, United States Senator from Montana.

I advocate complete reformation of the appointment system, putting the consular service

## CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE MERIT SYSTEM

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In this connection an eminent authority stated to the League that in the Congressional No. 1345, as originally drafted, simply was asked to establish, with the President's concurrence, the same sort of appointments in the consular service long been established and maintained regard to appointments in the Army Regulations of this kind are practical and there is no earthly reason progress and the President should not agree them just as they have agreed upon in the Army and Navy. The difference regulations so agreed upon, incorporated statute, and regulations made by the alone is largely a difference of permanence they are put in the statute they will indefinitely. If they are only established Executive Order, they are liable to be as administrations change."

In an argument for the enactment Lodge Bill, before the Committee on Affairs of the House of Representatives





out of reach of the politicians and making entry to it possible only through the lower grades, and promotion from them according to the record of individual efficiency.

Tenure of office to depend on no consideration save the individual's efficiency, and salaries to be so graded that the consular service will offer an attractive career to educated, intelligent young men, which, in my opinion, is the best method of securing for the country a consular service of permanent public utility.—WILLIAM H. PARLIN, President Parlin & Orendorff Company, Canton, Ill.

The rule and practice of *appointment by merit* in a broad sense of the word is the true basis for the organization and efficient operation of the consular service, the diplomatic service, and every other branch of the public service in the republic.—ROBERT R. HIRT, from Illinois, Chairman Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives.

Our country is now more or less represented by men of little or no business experience, and I have heard complaints in this respect, and the impression is very prevalent that in most cases our representatives abroad hold their positions as a compensation for political services rendered, or on the ground of some political "pull" through their friends, all of which is wrong and should be corrected.—JAMES B. FORGAN, President First National Bank, Chicago.

I am heartily in favor of the application of the *merit system* in connection with appointments to the American Consular Service.

I believe our consular service ought to be Americanized and made as efficient as possible. By the application of the merit system young men can educate themselves for this service, and enter it with a feeling that whatever ability and efficiency they render will be recognized, and promotions come to those who deserve them. This, in my judgment, will result in a very great improvement to the service, which will redound to the benefit of our gov-

ernment and its commerce.—JAMES H. DAVIDSON, Member of Congress from Wisconsin.

I am heartily in favor of the *merit system* not only in connection with the consular service, but in all other branches of public service. Representatives in Congress from the section of the country from which I come, a section that exported in raw cotton, to say nothing of manufactured articles, \$400,000,000.00 worth during the last fiscal year, feel very keenly our lack of representatives in the consular service who are familiar with the cotton industry in our section. In fact, an examination into the list of those in the consular service reveals the fact that as now constituted it is sectional rather than national.—ROBERT N. PAGE, Member of Congress from North Carolina.

In a nutshell, the spoils or patronage theory is that public office is primarily designed for partisan plunder.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The industrial and commercial interests of this country have always been handicapped in their efforts to enter foreign markets, principally from the lack of intelligent and effective co-operation of our consular service.

We have a few excellent consuls, but most of the appointees, having been selected for political reasons, are much below the grade of efficiency that should be maintained by a great nation like the United States.—BENJAMIN J. ROSENTHAL, President Importers' & Manufacturers' Millinery Company, Chicago.

I am for the *merit system* not only in the consular service, but in all other departments.—GEORGE L. LILLEY, Member of Congress from Connecticut.

Some of our consuls have done excellent and important work, which should not be overlooked and which is worthy of much praise. But as a class our consuls are of poor material; men who neither by instinct nor experience are fitted for such posts.—CHAUNCEY M. DEFEW, United States Senator from New York.

The consular service of this country should be recast upon a strictly business basis, and politics should, so far as possible, be eliminated from it.—A. C. BARTLETT, President Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Company, Chicago.

It would unquestionably very greatly improve the American consular service if the same were put under a strict civil service system. If this plan were adopted and men could enter the consular service with the assurance that merit would promote them from place to place, there would be many applications from college-trained men for positions in the consular service. The ranks of the service should be recruited from college and university men trained in language, political science, economics and commerce. Thus far men with adequate training for the work have, for the most part, been unwilling to become candidates for positions in the consular service because there is no assurance of a future, for even if the places were obtained it would be a question of only a short time until the men were displaced by political appointees.

Indeed, there is no department of government in which the argument is stronger for a *merit system* than in the consular service.—DR. CHARLES R. VAN HISE, President of the University of Wisconsin.

I approve of the *merit system* in connection with appointments to the American consular service, and shall do whatever I can to put the service on a businesslike basis. I believe that more care has been used in recent years than formerly in consular appointments, but it is apparent to any American who engages in foreign business transactions or who travels abroad that there could be vast improvements made even over the present standard, and I am sure that the legislation which Congress has enacted this year is a step in the right direction.—JOHN W. WEEKS, Member of Congress from Massachusetts.

I favor the *merit system* in connection with appointments and promotions in the American

consular service.—CHARLES E. FULLER, Member of Congress from Illinois.

I believe that the *merit system* should apply to all appointments in the consular service, and all promotions.—WILLIAM P. FRYE, United States Senator from Maine.

With thoroughly trained and equipped men in the consular service, unhampered by politics, and not liable to be disturbed except for cause, the business interests of this country abroad would be very greatly advanced.—JAMES H. ECKELS, President Commercial National Bank, Chicago.

I am most heartily in favor of the *merit system* in the appointment and promotion of government officials and employees, not only in the consular service, but in all departments of the public service. The spoils system has too long been a reproach to our system of government so far as the selection of its employees is concerned, and I am glad to unite myself with thinking men and sincere admirers of the best in our institutions in advocating a complete change in the *merit system*. All bills aiming at this result, whether introduced by individuals, the Civil Service Commission or at the request of civic bodies, such as the National Business League, will receive my earnest and active support.—JOSEPH A. GOULDEN, Member of Congress from New York.

I am heartily in favor of the application of the principles of the *merit system* to appointments in the consular service, provided, of course, that the "merit" feature, and not its evasion, is enforced in strict accordance with the real purpose of the proposed law. The consular service is a business service, and this service should not be controlled or the appointments thereto influenced by political considerations of the narrow partisan kind. Fitness for this peculiar and particular work should be demanded, and when discovered should be retained for the good of the serv-

ice.—FRANK B. FULKERSON, Member of Congress from Missouri.

In our present competition with England, France and Germany to capture the world's trade we are at a terrible disadvantage. Each of these countries has a thoroughly trained corps of foreign commercial representatives, while we have comparatively none. Their consular service is based on the "merit system"; ours on the time-honored American doctrine, "To the victors belong the spoils." Our picturesque consular corps apparently exists for the sole purpose of advertising to the outside world our peculiar method of rewarding local statesmanship. There will be no real reform until a systematic and comprehensive one is enacted by the Congress. There should be an immediate reorganization of this service on the lines of the "merit system."—JOHN W. ELA.

To abolish the spoils system is to take a long step toward breaking the power of that most harmful body, the bread-and-butter brigade of professional politicians.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

I should regard it as a great good fortune for our country if the *merit system* could be introduced as a necessary provision in connection with appointments to the American consular service. I have been greatly rejoiced to see the published statement that the Secretary of State intends, so far as it is possible for him under the present law, to secure this great reform.—DR. JAMES B. ANGELL, President of the University of Michigan.

The reorganization of the American consular service on the *merit system* has my hearty approval. While we have a number of very efficient consuls in certain foreign commercial centers, the service is mainly below the grade of excellence that should be maintained abroad by this government. *Young men of marked ability should be chosen as consular officials, and the term of office should be co-existent with efficiency and good deportment.*—ALEXANDER H. REVELL, President A. H. Revell & Co., Chicago.

The consular service should be made as



efficient as possible, for it concerns business interests both at home and abroad. I am in favor of whatever would tend to secure the relief sought by the National Business League in this matter.—J. WARREN KEIFER, Member of Congress from Ohio

I am most heartily in favor of the application of the *merit system* in the matter of appointments to the American consular service and the promotion of consular officials.—GEO. P. LAWRENCE, Member of Congress from Massachusetts.

I am heartily in favor of any proposition which would tend to improve and enlarge the scope of usefulness of the American consular service.

A system where *meritorious service would insure promotion and tenure of office* undoubtedly would add to the efficiency of our consular service, and I think an important step in this direction has been taken through the enactment of recent legislation reorganizing the consular service.—FRANCIS E. WARREN, United States Senator from Wyoming.

No reputable manufacturer or merchant would think for a moment of sending a second or third rate man to represent him in a foreign market; neither would he entrust his business interests to a poetical genius or a politician, even though they might be good fellows and, possibly, admirably adapted to some other sphere of usefulness.

The character of the commercial house is very largely known by its representatives, and the same is true, to a great extent, of any government. Therefore, the United States should use the utmost care and wisdom in its choice of men for its consular service.

The *merit system*, it seems to me, is the only one that will insure the appointment of men of character and ability.—H. M. KINNEY, General Manager, Winona Wagon Company, Winona, Minn.

As to appointments to the American Consular Service under the *merit system*, it

to me there is no question but that proper attainments should be required and duly ascertained prior to appointment, and that excellent service should receive its proper reward.

The platform of the National Business League forcefully sets forth the proper provisions rightfully attending our Consular Service.—IRVING P. WANGER, Member of Congress from Pennsylvania.

Personally I am in favor of the *merit system* in connection with appointments to the consular service and the promotion of consular officials, and believe that results would soon justify its adoption. I regretted that provisions for such a system were omitted from the Lodge bill, recently enacted.—JOHN J. ESCH, Member of Congress from Wisconsin.

I believe in the securing of any legislation which will advance the standard of efficiency in our consular service; which will secure the tenure of office of consuls, irrespective of politics, as far as proper, with a view of maintaining American business principles and fidelity to the interests of the country which the consuls represent; which will further make it easy and simple to insist that energy, intelligence and activity shall be made essential to continuance in the service.—ROCKWOOD HOAR, Member of Congress from Massachusetts.

It is only fair that the business agents representing the United States in foreign countries should be of a representative character. It has been demonstrated that under the *spoils system* our consuls are neither representative men nor men of ordinary business ability. With the *merit system* in force we could hope and expect that many educated and able young men would enter upon a career of this sort with enthusiasm and devotion.—EDWARD B. BUTLER, President Butler Brothers, Chicago.

I am heartily in favor of extending the *merit system* to all subordinate offices, and it would much improve our consular service, and trust it will be strictly and im-

partially applied.—FREDERICK H. GILLET, Member of Congress from Massachusetts.

I am in hearty sympathy with this movement, for I believe that nothing has been more neglected than our present foreign service.—CHARLES E. TOWNSEND, Member of Congress from Michigan.

The American consular service is one of the two or three branches of service which I am willing to have conducted upon the *merit system* of promotions.

It is evident that in such a service experience increases the value of the consul to his country if he be worthy of a place in that service. The unworthy would soon be dropped out if the tenure of office should continue only during efficiency and personal conduct of the highest grade.—WILLIAM A. CALDERHEAD, Member of Congress from Kansas.

The selection of consular officials according to the "*merit system*," will enhance the efficiency of the service, and open a career to the young man seeking advancement by merit rather than through the channel of politics.—GRANGER FARWELL, President Farwell Trust Company, Chicago.

The "*merit system*," the selection of men for worth only and not for political affiliations, is a basis to which we must come if we are to make our consular service, as well as all our governmental functions, as effective as they ought to be.—DR. BURRIS A. JENKINS, President Kentucky University.

I am heartily in favor of the *merit system* of appointment and promotion in the consular service.—WESLEY L. JONES, Member of Congress from Washington.

I am heartily in favor of the *merit system* in connection with appointments to the American consular service and the promotion of consular officials, and shall give any properly prepared legislation that may be submitted to that effect my earnest support.—SIDNEY J. BOWIE, Member of Congress from Alabama.

In order to compete with other countries in



foreign trade, it is absolutely necessary for us to divorce our consular appointments from the *spoils system*, and to have all appointments made entirely on *merit* and special qualifications for the particular posts. Germany has made great strides following this plan, and there is no reason why we should not do likewise.—JOHN V. FARWELL, JR., John V. Farwell Company, Chicago.

I believe the *merit system of promotion* will enhance the value of our consular service to the business interests of the country. Yet at the same time I feel that men selected from the business walks of life and appointed to these positions are better fitted by reason of being acquainted with the business interests of the country at large than are the men who went into the service at an early age and by reason of careful attention to duties have been promoted to the higher places.—PORTER J. McCUMBER, United States Senator from North Dakota.

I am in favor of the *merit system* as applied to our consular service, especially as this applies to the promotion of experienced and capable men, and while the consular bill recently passed does not meet the requirements of the service in every particular, I believe it is a step in the right direction and will prove of great benefit to this country. We should have men of the highest character and ability in this service, but until the compensation is made commensurate with the dignity and responsibility of the position this cannot be the case.—GEORGE W. SMITH, Member of Congress from Illinois.

I am heartily in favor of the *merit system* in all appointments to the consular service as in all government service. Consideration should be given to the integrity and capacity for performing the required work. Dead wood should give way to vigilant persons; vigor, energy, ability and rectitude to duty.—GILBERT M. HANSEN, Member of Congress from Iowa.

country, as well as each and every ad-

ministration, will be advanced in its interests abroad by the character and ability of its representatives. Hence to my mind the desirability and importance of the adoption of the *merit system*, and the selection of bright, educated young men for the American consular service.—C. P. MOSHER, Mosher, Griswold & Co., Auburn, N. Y.

I very cordially approve of all the efforts made to reorganize the American consular service, and can assure you that it needed improvement.—JOHN J. JENKINS, Member of Congress from Wisconsin.

It has been well said that, for the past one hundred years, the controlling idea in the appointment of Ministers and Consuls by the Government has been the consideration of proper rewards to individuals, and appointments have not been made on account of services rendered to the Nation; or of special fitness for the duties of the position. Meanwhile, there has been going on in the country marvelous production and expansion, affording opportunities for increasing our exports; and especially, now to the Orient. As an instance showing how we are behind other countries: Our Government owns but one legation building, namely the one to be occupied this year by our Ambassador at Peking.

On March 28th appeared the following heading to the articles in American newspapers: "The President makes grave charges against a Consul at Shanghai, who is a grafter; one at Canton, a drunkard; and one at Singapore, who has not maintained the respect and confidence of the Government."

Congress has recently passed what has been known as the Lodge Bill, which was, unfortunately, shorn of its most important provision before being sent from the Senate to the House. Good as the bill is, in the features that remain, it omits the essential provision that is needed, namely, the introduction of the *merit system*.

After traveling in Europe, and especially in

the Orient, I have been made fully aware of the disadvantages our country is under with its present imperfect Consular Service.—EDWARD J. PARKER, President, State Savings, Loan & Trust Company, Quincy, Ill.

I am in favor of the general principles of the *merit system* in making most of the selections and promotions in the Consular Service. I think it, however, of the utmost importance to leave some considerable discretion in the Secretary of State, or the President, and any application of the *merit system* to the Consular Service should be most carefully guarded to prevent such a situation as we now have in the Department at Washington, where many of the officers are handicapped by clerks who are incompetent from age and other infirmities.—HENRY SHERMAN BOUTELL, Member of Congress from Illinois.

I regard the *merit system* of selection and promotion as absolutely necessary to the reorganization of the Consular Service, on a basis which will make it thoroughly effective in enlarging our commerce with other nations. The aspiring young man with preliminary training and speaking at least one modern language other than English, should be given an opportunity to make a career in the service.—FREDERIC W. UPHAM, Chicago, representing the lumber industries.

Our political system is permeated with the fiction that to the victor belongs the spoils. The demand for office and the lust for patronage is so strong and insistent in both our great political parties, that many of our most important public interests are made to suffer by reason of the insatiate greed for place and power. Herein lies the greatest menace to our prestige as a nation abroad and to the efficient administration of our affairs at home. It follows that any measure providing for appointment based on personal fitness must fail so long as the leaders in our state and national councils are permitted to assign positions in the government service ———ent of their political debts.

Just so long as public office is looked upon as a reward for the political spoilsman, just so long will measures like the Lodge Bill be looked upon with distrust and suspicion by those who control patronage, and vigorous means and untiring effort will be needed if their opposition is to be overcome. Such effort has been characteristic of this league, and it is with much satisfaction and pleasure that I recognize a growing determination on the part of all interests identified with this movement to carry it through to final success.—From Address to the National Business League by ROBERT J. GROSS.

The measure for the reorganization of the Consular Service, strictly on the lines of the "merit system," will meet the approval of every commercial body in the United States.—EUGENE J. BUFFINGTON, President Illinois Steel Company, Chicago.

As my firm is engaged in the export trade, I have naturally been interested in that branch of the service for many years and have been painfully aware of its shortcomings. The advantages of the *merit system* go without saying; indeed, I regard it as absolutely essential to obtaining the best service. The desire of promotion is inherent in the breast of every live young man, and when you shut off the possibility of it you discourage him. The Lodge bill as originally drafted was admirable. Only creditable men would have been appointed and under it they would have had the opportunity of winning laurels by efficient service. It is a great misfortune that it should have been so emasculated, though of course the bill as passed is a step, though a lame and halting one, in the right direction. We hope for better things next year.—A. B. FARQUHAR, President A. B. Farquhar Company, Limited, York, Pa.

One admirable effect of the adoption of the *merit system* in the selection of consuls will be the stimulating and encourage-

young men of the country to prepare themselves, through the training of educational institutions and otherwise, for fulfilling the high and important duties of representing the nation in foreign lands. Thus will be created a body of citizens possessed of special qualifications for the work involved.—LUTHER LAFLIN MILLS, Chicago.


My observation is that too many of our consular appointees are two-by-four politicians and otherwise unfit for the public service, and I am willing to approve of any safe and constitutional law which will raise the standard to where it should be.—JOHN WESLEY GAINES, Member of Congress from Tennessee.

We have always looked with favor on the *merit system* in any line of business, and our eighty-one years of business life has strengthened our belief that that is the true policy to pursue. Especially do we consider this advisable in the consular service. We have quite an extensive foreign trade, and the need for active and intelligent consuls is very apparent and urgent, and we trust that the efforts of the National Business League in securing a further improvement in our consular service will be successful.—GEORGE C. AVERY, President B. F. Avery & Sons, Louisville.

I have always favored the *merit system* as important, if not necessary, in connection with appointments in the American consular service. This administration has done much to improve the service, and the legislation that has passed at this session has put that service on a still higher plane.

A large percentage of our consular officers in foreign countries were not native born citizens; they came to this country and became naturalized for the purpose of securing such places in their native countries. This has all, however, been done away with at present, and young men of ability, energy and ambition are being selected for this service.

The National Business League is entitled to much credit for work done in connection with



the improvement of the consular service.—ALBERT J. HOPKINS, United States Senator from Illinois.

I am not fully in accord with our civil service system. It has, I think, grave defects, which I trust may be remedied. There should be rotation of the appointees under civil service. There should not be thousands of men fixed in public service, becoming mere machines, claiming inability to lay by anything for old age, and after long public service unfitted for other pursuits. A merit system for appointments and promotions in our consular service is certainly desirable—in fact, may be said to be necessary in order to secure satisfactory results in order to have consular officials that will be a credit to the service and an honor to the country. *The men who represent our nation in the capitals and business marts of the world ought to be schooled for the service and promoted in order of experience and merit.* The service ought not to be degraded or even maintained at mediocrity through political preference.—JUSTIN D. BOWERSOCK, Member of Congress from Kansas.

We feel that it will be necessary more and more for American manufacturers to look to foreign countries for markets. Our company is doing quite a little exporting at this time, especially to South American countries, and we think that any action taken by the government to improve the American consular service would be very desirable and would be especially beneficial to the manufacturing interests of our country. Promotion of consular officials and the selection of bright, educated men for the service would undoubtedly be of great benefit, and we trust that Congress will pass such legislation necessary to bring results in this direction.—F. H. CALDWELL, President The Cahill Iron Works, Chattanooga, Tenn.

I am very strongly of the opinion that if our American consular service is ever to do for the United States what we may fairly expect of it, it will be necessary to attract to this de-

partment of the government the brightest and best educated young men of the country.

A Consul should be a man especially alert, with quick eye and open mind to receive impressions; with trained intellect to enable him to follow up suggestions; with ambition to do public service, and with a will to enable him to carry out properly conceived plans. Such young men ought to receive the very best training which our colleges and universities can give them before they take up the particular work of the service itself. If we select such men for the lowest grades and promote them for good service to the higher positions, we may fairly hope to develop in the long run a consular service worthy of the American nation.—DR. EDMUND J. JAMES, President of the University of Illinois.

European countries have long ago awakened to the advantage of appointing especially equipped men to perform the duties of consul, and have established schools wherein preliminary training can be obtained. Furthermore, their consular service is so organized that the faithfulness and efficiency of aspirants in this line of work is recognized by systematic promotion from subordinate posts to the higher ranks of the diplomatic field. The curriculum of such courses of instruction as are given at the leading universities in Paris, Berlin, Vienna and St. Petersburg are revised and modified from time to time as the progress of the commercial or industrial world may demand.—From Address to the National Business League by ROBERT J. GROSS.

In regard to the *merit system* as a necessary provision in connection with appointments to the American consular service and for the promotion of consular officials, I believe that the consular reform bill is a step in the right direction and shall support any such measure.—GEO. E. WALDO, Member of Congress from New York.

Our present consular system is faulty in every particular. Any legislative action could

not help bettering it. This is a *business department* and should be run on *business principles*. The basis of business success is the *merit system*. Let the government feed the politicians from some other trough.—L. G. FISHER, President The Union Bag & Paper Company, New York and Chicago.

The *spoils system* in our Consular Service is doing untold harm to our national industries and its elimination is absolutely imperative if we are to hold the markets of the world for American goods. The *merit system* in our Consular Service will advance the circulation of American products. It is about time Congress paid more attention to the demands of business men in this respect.—E. ALLEN FROST, General Counsel National Business League.

The Consular Service will never fully meet the requirements of the business interests of the country until completely Americanized, and the spoils system of appointment is eliminated and applicants are admitted to the service solely on merit.—JOHN W. SCOTT, Carson, Pirie, Scott & Company, Chicago.

Reform of the Consular Service, along the lines of safe and conservative business methods, is sure to come. As a people, we are becoming acquainted with the effective results accomplished by the consular representatives of other nations, and we are awakening to the importance and necessity of placing our own affairs abroad in the hands of experienced, capable, broad-gauge agents of the Government. The Philippine war, one of the effects of which was to send thousands of our clear-headed Americans around the world, was a tremendous educational force, and its lessons, in a commercial way, have not been lost. Our people realize that far-reaching improvement can be effected in the Consular Service. All agree that we must have better men in the service, and that in order to secure them we must pay more money; and there is no doubt in my mind that the "merit system," so called, would likewise contribute surprisingly to the mat-



advancement of America's commercial interests, the world over.—SAMUEL H. PILES, United States Senator from Washington.

The great increase in the commerce of our country makes it imperative that we have a first-class Consular Service—a service that will insure the disposal of our surplus products in foreign markets. Consular officials should be men of marked business ability, appointed upon the merit system, with opportunity for promotion. Nothing that the Congress could do would be of greater service to the whole country than to pass a consular bill with the merit provision.—ROBERT J. LOWRY, President Lowry National Bank, Atlanta, Ga.

I am heartily in favor of the application of the *merit system* to the appointment and promotion of officials in the American consular service, and hope to see it adopted by legislation.—JOHN A. SULLIVAN, Member of Congress from Massachusetts.

There is nothing our government can do that would command more respect for it by foreign nations than the establishment of a consular service according to the *merit system*, as contemplated by Consular Bill No. 1345, as originally drafted and advocated by the National Business League.

How any loyal, self-respecting representative in Congress can do otherwise than give the measure his most hearty endorsement and support is beyond my comprehension. The emasculators of the bill should be ferreted out and retired to private life by their constituents, and public-spirited men, who have the general good of the country at heart and act on that principle, be substituted for the political spoils-men.—GEORGE W. SHELDON, G. W. Sheldon & Co., Chicago.

I believe thoroughly in making our consular service as efficient as possible, and think the bill recently prepared by the State Department on the subject is a step in the right direction. Men who have shown themselves competent efficient should be promoted and kept in

the service as long as possible. It seems to me this is the only way to get good work from our foreign representatives.—NEHEMIAH D. SPERRY, Member of Congress from Connecticut.

The *merit system* of selection of specially qualified young men to represent us in our consular service should require no recommendation to have it supplant the method of making such appointments a reward for political service. In these days of international contest for commercial supremacy those countries must succeed which adopt the former plan, while those which retain the system of making such appointments for any other reason than capacity must necessarily fall behind.—G. H. NYE, President Cayuga County National Bank, Auburn, N. Y.

I am heartily in favor of this consular measure and did what I could to support it when it was before the House. I thoroughly believe in efficient consular service, and am glad to note anything that tends to its advancement.—FRANKLIN E. BROOKS, Member of Congress from Colorado.

The *merit system* of appointment to the American Consular Service would open up a wide and promising field for many bright young men who may graduate from the technical schools of our great universities.—HELGE A. HAUGAN, President State Bank of Chicago.

As a matter of fact, the arguments in favor of the *merit system* and against the *spoils system* are not only convincing, but they are absolutely unanswerable.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The importance of this country commercially and every other way has grown to such proportions and our relations with other countries have become so interwoven and complicated that the necessity for efficient consular service to protect and promote the interests of our commerce and people abroad is an absolute necessity. There is no department of our government that needs the *merit system* more than this. No expense should be spared to get men of ability to represent the United States in every foreign land. "Political pull" in gain


ing a consulship should be out of the question.—A. D. BROWN, President Hamilton-Brown Shoe Company, St. Louis, Mo.

The *merit system* of appointment cannot fail to bring about infinite improvement in the service. The changing of consuls with every new administration has been an unmitigated curse to the service. Justice would seem to require that a consular officer who has spent his life in foreign lands in the public service, and returns, when old and worn out, from a sort of banishment to his own country, to find himself forgotten by friends, and who has had, by reason of the nature of his service, few or no opportunities to better his financial condition, ought, like officers of the army and navy, to be allowed a decent retiring pension under certain limitations with reference to age and number of years of service.—LAMBERT TREE, Chicago, formerly United States Minister to Belgium and Russia.

I regard the *merit system* as one of the most important features of effective consular reform. Its omission from the law would be a public calamity.

Think what this would mean to the competent, ambitious American young man who is not fortunate enough to have a political "pull." The proposition to leave this important clause out of the law could not possibly work good to anybody, unless to a few selfish politicians, and would manifestly cause great harm to the service by providing, as heretofore, for a horde of incompetents, whose greatest accomplishment is their power to control votes.—ELLIOTT DURAND.

As between the "*spoils system*" pure and simple, and the "*merit system*" so called, *I would prefer the latter*. I would not, however, endorse or advocate that the merit system should consist only of a mental examination. I believe that it should include additional tests for determining the practical qualifications of the applicant to discharge the duties of the posi-



tion.—JAMES C. NEEDHAM, Member of Congress from California.

In reference to the appointments for the American consular service, I have been many times distressed at the mode of selection. While it is true that not a few of our foreign representatives are worthy and able men, at the same time *the selection of those who have rendered political service has frequently resulted in choosing those who are incompetent to represent this country.* It seems to me that the experience of other great nations plainly indicates that the proper method for us to follow is to *select for the foreign service bright, intelligent, educated young men without regard to politics.* If our foreign service is made an object towards which ambitious young men can work and which is a prize for attainment, we shall soon be represented abroad, as we are in the army and the navy, by expert professional brains. This great Republic, with its enormous wealth and its increasing power, cannot afford to be represented anywhere by its second rate or its incompetent citizens.—DR. HARRY PRATT JUDSON, President The University of Chicago.

However commendable the policy of the present administration may be in making consular appointments, a standard of high efficiency will not be reached or maintained until the principles governing such appointments, together with some fixed system of promotion, have been enacted into law. As such law would preclude political or partisan considerations in making consular appointments, and assure permanency of office to the faithful and capable, and as promotion would then be governed by the trustworthiness, capability and zeal of the incumbent in the performance of his duties—the service would attract the ambitious and educated among our young men, and ultimately place in these important representative positions some of the best brain of the country.—From Address to the National Business League by ROBERT J. GROSS.

While I believe that on the whole we have a very good Consular Service at present, I also believe it can be greatly improved. The Consular Service can be made of tremendous value in our efforts to extend our foreign trade if men are appointed to it from the sole point of fitness. I am strongly in favor of making consular appointments on the *merit system* and of giving them, after appointment, special training as may be necessary.—JAMES R. MANN, Member of Congress from Illinois.


In the appointment of men for consular service *neither section nor party should be recognized*. Other things being equal, *all sections of our country should be recognized*, but good, competent men should be secured, no matter at what cost.—DR. EDWIN B. CRAIGHEAD, President The Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans.

I am in full sympathy with the idea that the test of a candidate should be entirely confined to his fitness for the office, rather than on the weight of political influence that he may be able to bring to bear.

Taking into consideration the importance of the foreign trade to this country, we should have a Consular Service second to that of no other power.—STANLEY McCORMICK, Comptroller, International Harvester Company of America, Chicago.

I have long been an advocate of the introduction of the *merit system* of appointment and promotion to and in the American consular service.

I believe that men selected to represent the American people in foreign countries should be especially qualified by education and training to meet the responsibilities imposed upon them, that they should have a broad conception of America's business needs, that they should be specially selected with a view to not only doing credit to the country which honored them by appointment socially, but should be able to secure such information and present it in such a way as to enable the business interests of



this country to understand the best methods to be pursued for the development and extension of American trade abroad.—MARTIN B. MADDEN, Member of Congress from Illinois.

As a general rule I think that when a consular officer of our government shows exceptional ability, he should be retained in the service and be given promotion. The consular service ought to be looked upon as affording a career to exceptional men.—JULIUS KAHN, Member of Congress from California.

While the recently enacted consular bill is an improvement on the first legislation more than a hundred years ago, and the unimportant legislation a half century ago, the Consular Service still remains a helpless victim of the *spoils system*; and for no other reason than that members of Congress prefer to sacrifice commercial interests to political preferment in the appointment of consuls. The new law fails to provide for a complete Americanization of the service; the language clause was stricken from the bill and the measure otherwise weakened. Business interests should never rest until all the provisions of the original bill become a law, and the *merit system* be strictly followed in the selection of consular officials, with adequate compensation and assured advancement for efficiency, as incentive to young men to make a career in the service.—CHARLES TRUAX, President Truax, Greene & Company, Chicago.

Thoroughly Americanize the American Consular Service and keep it Americanized; for while we must have a foreign service there is no good reason why we should have a subservice of foreigners. The day will come when no American consular shield and no American flag will be placed above foreign soil unless a representative American citizen is placed beneath these to take care of the business of the American Government.—JAMES T. DU BOIS, formerly Consul-General at St. Gall.

We are in hearty accord with the steps the National Business League is taking to improve our consular service. Over one-fourth of our

business is with foreign countries, and the necessity of the *removal of the service from the sphere of political influence* has long been evident to us.

With the *merit system* thoroughly established, both as to *appointment and promotion, with a limitation as to age*, a favorable effect upon the export business of this country should speedily be apparent. We suggest a limitation as to age, as the importance of having bright *young men* for our consuls is, in our judgment, especially important.—JAMES KILBOURNE, President The Kilbourne & Jacobs Manufacturing Company, Columbus, Ohio.

The importance of a consular service of the highest efficiency as regards organization, methods and personnel cannot be overestimated, and measures to promote the efficiency of the service along the lines of the *merit system* have long had my friendly interest. The bill which has been enacted in this Congress I believe to be a step in the right direction and one which must ultimately lead to the *complete reorganization* sought by the friends of the reform.—DE ALVA S. ALEXANDER, Member of Congress from New York.

I am amazed that it should be necessary to again call the attention of our Congress to the advantages which would come to us by reason of the adoption of the *merit system* in our consular service. The *spoils system* is evil, and that continually. The adoption of the *merit system* with all government employees would be a tremendous advantage. I think every decent man should stand for it.—JOSEPH L. HUDSON, President The J. L. Hudson Company, Detroit, Mich.

I am heartily in favor of the *merit system* in connection with appointments to the American consular service and while in Congress will do everything in my power to advance the character of this service, and am more than pleased with the legislation enacted in Washington this year relating to this important subject.—WIL-

LIAM M. CALDER, Member of Congress from New York.

I freely favor the provision for the *merit system* of appointment and promotion of consuls and other sections stricken from Consular bill No. 1345, recently passed by the Congress. Business interests should not rest until the discarded provisions are made a part of the consular law.—CHARLES F. QUINCY, President Quincy-Manchester-Sargent Company, New York and Chicago.

I am in favor of the *merit system* in every position in life, but I think it ought to be founded on all-round merit. A man may possess ever so much merit along a certain line and yet be destitute of it along all other lines. Simply because a postal clerk can throw more letters into the box in a given time is no reason why he possesses more merit than his competitors, provided the other fellows are honest and he is not. The rule will also apply to consuls.—ROBERT B. MACON, Member of Congress from Arkansas.

The necessity of bright, energetic active young men is more urgent in the consular service than in almost any department of the government. Americans traveling in Europe and reading the foreign papers are fully advised of this, because these papers are full of articles inculcating the advisability and necessity of breaking loose from dependence on raw materials and manufactured goods that come from the United States. This is one of the most live topics in the newspapers in those countries to which we sell most largely. How much good will it do us to have there some expolitician, who does not understand the language nor even know that such articles are being published, and naturally can do nothing to counteract them or to advise his government?

This is just one reason why bright, energetic men understanding foreign languages are needed. Many more reasons could be given.—A. H. DEVERS, Closset & Devers, Portland, O—




I am heartily in favor of the programme of the National Business League for the reorganization of the consular service as set forth in items one to seven, with the exception that I should not limit the age of appointment to forty years, believing that many men older than that are capable of doing excellent work in the consular service.—DANIEL L. D. GRANGER, Member of Congress from Rhode Island.

I endorse the *merit system* as a necessary provision in connection with appointments to the American consular service and for the promotion of consular officials.

The need of consular reform is most clearly depicted by the progress of European countries in obtaining foreign trade and their constant endeavors to encroach upon the natural outlets for American manufactures. The need is more energetic young men, especially trained in business that they may be fitted to cope with all the existing conditions in bringing American products to the fore.

One point should be borne in mind by the consuls, namely, that a great many American manufacturers, who produce articles which would have wide demand in foreign countries, have never been able to go after this trade because their factories have been kept busy here, and they are entirely unfamiliar with the best method to pursue. A great many of the consular reports have savored so strongly of long time credits granted by German traders, without going into details and stating how those transactions are actually carried out, that the real impression created is that foreign trade is undesirable by reason of these long credits, when it is an actual fact that the German becomes in possession of his money earlier than the long term supposed to exist.

I am in favor of an enactment of such comprehensive laws as will place our consular service in advance of that of any other country, and wish the National Business League a full measure of success.—WILLIAM F. WENDT, President Buffalo Forge Company, Buffalo, N. Y.



I believe in the *merit system* for the consular service. I do not believe, however, it is essential to efficiency that a consul be familiar with one modern language other than English. We mostly need men of ability who possess knowledge of the natural industrial and commercial resources of the United States.—CHARLES CURTIS, Member of Congress from Kansas.

We cordially endorse the *merit system* as an indispensable feature to make effective our American consular service, for the success of which it is imperative that the best of our trained young men be selected.—J. G. BATTELLE, President The Columbus Iron & Steel Company, Columbus, Ohio.

I am very much in favor of the proposed reform in the consular service and believe that the *merit system* should be observed in promotions, but think that if any examinations for such promotions are held, faithful service should be given a very large percentage.—WILLIAM W. COCKS, Member of Congress from New York.

With the American consular service thoroughly reorganized according to the *merit system* and a modern American merchant marine, in a few years our industrial establishments in their chief branches of commerce, steel, cotton, machinery, food products and practical wares, will outrank our strongest competitors and our position as supreme industrialists will be imperious. *Keep the consular service out of politics.* Have qualifications for its service on practical and efficient lines. A liberally remunerated consular force on such a basis will repay its annual cost to the nation indirectly in manifold ways and will prove a great national investment.—GEORGE J. SEABURY, Seabury & Johnson, New York.

The introduction of the *merit system* into appointments to the consular service seems to me of the greatest importance if the United States is to do itself justice among the commercial classes of other nations. I have so often been mortified by the showing which some of our

representatives make that I feel very strongly on this point, while recognizing that even under the present imperfect system many of our consuls are men of whom we are all proud.—**PROF. HENRY W. FARNUM**, Yale University.

America must and will reach out for a vastly increased foreign trade, and just as every business house requires a high efficiency and the best possible training in its own employes, so must the nation have in its consular service men of especial business ability and training; of high commercial honor and capacity. As our respective trade representatives secure for each of us his quota of trade, so the consular service must help in the getting not of a small quantity, but hundreds of millions more trade. Nothing can be more commendable than the efforts of the National Business League for the improvement of this service according to the *merit system*.

Our consular service must soon become like that of Germany—a strictly business proposition. I have had experience with German consuls, and always have been astonished at their business-getting qualities.—**HERBERT E. MILES**, President Racine-Sattley Company, Racine, Wis.

I have for a long time favored the *merit system* in our consular service, and shall hereafter, as heretofore, do what I can to promote still further the establishment of this system.—**WILLIAM B. ALLISON**, United States Senator from Iowa.

As a business man I certainly coincide with the views of business men that the American consular service should be operated upon a business basis, with appointment and promotion of consular officials, and safe tenure in office, according to demonstrated fitness. I also strongly believe that a man should be dismissed from the consular service, just as he would be from a private business, when he becomes inefficient, or for misconduct, or when he conceives the idea that he is more important in his position than the President of the United States and

that the country cannot get along without him.—WILLIAM B. M'KINLEY, Member of Congress from Illinois.

I think the suggestions of the National Business League regarding reorganization of the consular service are wise, and I should favor the adoption of legislation looking to that result.—WILLIAM S. GREENE, Member of Congress from Massachusetts.

I am heartily in favor of the *merit system* being applied to the consular officials. I believe more attention should be paid to the commercial qualifications of all our representatives abroad. We must, of course, cultivate a friendly feeling toward us by foreign countries; but the necessity is so imperative that we build up our trade with other countries, thereby creating a demand for American products, that in making appointments to the consular service special attention should be directed to the necessity for business requirements and qualifications.—EDWARD S. MINOR, Member of Congress from Wisconsin.

I am in full sympathy with the aims of the National Business League, especially regarding the American consular service. It has long been a reproach to our country that it has been represented abroad by consuls so poorly qualified to fill creditably the positions to which they have been appointed. As between the "*merit*" system and the old unsavory and wretched "*spoils*" system, no honest, intelligent man can hesitate which to prefer.—IRVING M. BEAN, President Northwestern Iron Company, Milwaukee.

I greatly favor a radical reform in our consular service. In this service, above all others, merit should control, and this without regard to political consideration.—WILLIAM J. STONE, United States Senator from Missouri.

The establishment and enforcement of the *merit system* in connection with the American consular service I would regard as one of the most important steps that could be made by our government in promoting the efficiency of

the public service. Thoughtful Americans are realizing more and more each day the vast importance of this department of our government, and as a result many reforms which are bound to be beneficial to the people generally will be brought about, and to this end I shall direct my public efforts whenever the occasion presents itself.—JAMES FRANCIS BURKE, Member of Congress from Pennsylvania.

I favor the effort of the National Business League for a more efficient consular service by the *merit system*, and will welcome any effort that will give our country the best foreign service. "By their fruits ye shall know them" should be the doctrine followed, and promotion should follow results.—AMOS R. WEBER, Member of Congress from Ohio.

The extension of American commerce in foreign countries will, in my judgment, be largely promoted by the adoption of the *merit system* in filling appointments to the American consular service, for the reason that, under this system, appointments would be made on account of fitness and ability to promote American trade in foreign countries. Under the present system the service is simply the dumping ground for politicians who, as a rule, are poorly equipped or not equipped at all for the place, and whose highest aim is to draw the salary attached to the office.—DAVID E. FINLEY, Member of Congress from South Carolina.

I am in thorough accord with the movement looking to the *merit system* in appointments to the consular service.—SWAGER SHERLEY, Member of Congress from Kentucky.

I am very glad to have the privilege of expressing my approval of the *merit system* in making appointments in the American consular service. It is a compliance with the growing demand both in public and private business affairs that a man to be successful must "know his business." The reaching out of the merchants and manufacturers of the United States into the markets of the world, and the sharp competition there met demand that we have

men in foreign cities who are able both by education and experience to advise American producers where and how best to meet that competition.—RALPH D. COLE, Member of Congress from Ohio.

The subject of consular reform at this time is of almost supreme importance to the mercantile and industrial interests of the United States, for upon the character and efficiency of our consular service depends to a very large extent the growth of our foreign trade. To render that service efficient it should be conducted absolutely upon the *merit system*, without any feature or relic of family or political favoritism. The principle of promotion in filling the higher offices in that service should be without exception observed; moreover, the qualifications for every consular office should be embodied in law and not subject to or made dependent upon executive control. Legislation affecting business interests should be definite, concise, practical, and not lacking the essential element of permanence; and not subject therefore to the vacillations incident to American politics. It should rest upon the *merit system* as upon immovable pillars; upon that basis it would grow stronger and stronger, and in a few years would become so imbedded in the federal law and so commended by the people as to be beyond almost the possibility of change. Without the strict observance of these principles, the enterprise of our merchants in extending our trade relations with foreign markets would fall of its full and deserved results.—GEORGE FREDERIC STONE, Secretary Board of Trade, Chicago.

As to the *merit system* as a necessary provision in connection with appointments to the American consular service, I think merit is a great consideration in the making of appointments. I do not think consuls ought to be kept too long at one post.—ANSELM J. M'LAURIN, United States Senator from Mississippi.

The wisdom of changing our consular service so as to take it out of partisan politics, and

basing it upon capacity and experience, thereby getting the best out of it in a business way for the benefit of our commerce, is apparent to any man of sense who looks into the matter. I am most heartily in favor of such action.—GEORGE F. BURGESS, Member of Congress from Texas.

In my judgment our consular service should be organized on the basis of ability to serve the United States most efficiently; and really capable consuls should be retained and promoted regardless of politics and the inefficient ones should be sent home at once. The consular service should no longer be an asylum for incompetents.—JOHN A. T. HULL, Member of Congress from Iowa.

I favor a *merit system*. By all means let us have it.—NATHAN W. HALE, Member of Congress from Tennessee.

It is my opinion that the *merit system* is the only fair way for the promotion of consular officials, and I trust that it may be so established.—SOLOMON R. DRESSER, Member of Congress from Pennsylvania.

If there is any department of our government which requires ability and training, it is the consular service. We are in favor of any movement to improve its efficiency and believe that the *merit system* will draw better men and furnish more incentive for good work than any other which has been suggested.—FRANKLIN MURPHY, JR., Vice-President Murphy Varnish Company, Newark, N. J.

I trust the National Business League will be instrumental in securing enactment of the provisions which were eliminated from consular bill No. 1345, by the committee on foreign relations, before its passage near the close of the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress. So far as the *merit system* is concerned this is the only system that should be considered to obtain proper results.—WILLIAM V. KELLEY, President American Steel Foundries, Chicago.

As a general proposition I am in favor of  
to term the *merit system* in the consular

service, if it is impartially applied without any favoritism, but some instances of favoritism and prejudice have come under my observation, so that I cannot say I am entirely satisfied with the way the so-called *merit system* has been applied so far.—KNUTE NELSON, United States Senator from Minnesota.

I am most heartily in favor of the *merit system*.—SAMUEL W. SMITH, Member of Congress from Michigan.

I am now, and always have been and always expect to be, in favor of the *merit system* in connection with appointments to the American consular service and for the promotion of consular officers for demonstrated efficiency. This is a most desirable reform in our consular service. I have been an advocate of it in Congress and out of Congress for the last ten years, and I believe it is destined to come through national legislation in the next few years.—WILLIAM SULZER, Member of Congress from New York.

We most certainly are in favor of additional legislation for the reorganization of the American consular service as set forth by the National Business League. There should be no question as to the *merit system* being the only one to be considered. Does any successful business man conduct his individual enterprises upon any other lines? And what is true of the individual as a unit is true of the nation as an aggregation of units. The very best business men obtainable at an adequate salary, making it attractive to good business men, should represent us in foreign markets. While undoubtedly there has been a great deal of improvement made in our consular service, it still is a long way from what it should be, and we trust your efforts may meet with an early and successful issue.—L. A. AULT, President Ault & Wiborg Company, Cincinnati.

I am heartily in favor of a *merit system* for the improvement of our consular service. From my personal experience and knowledge of the conditions in the Orient and far east—



countries, where I found the consular service in many cases in the hands of incompetent, unrepresentative men, unworthy of the prestige which their official position should give them, I feel that the efforts of the National Business League are deserving of the greatest support possible.—C. FREDERICK CHILDS, Representing Fisk & Robinson, New York and Chicago.

That the consular service of our country should be placed upon a strictly business footing I take it goes without saying, and this cannot be done unless men of ability and experience are to be placed in the service and promoted on account of their efficiency.—WILLIAM WARNER, United States Senator from Missouri.

There does not seem to me to be any necessity of argument on the question to satisfy everyone that merit should be very seriously taken into consideration when appointments are to be made to the consular service, and the plan for promotion of consuls serving in unimportant stations to stations of greater importance is, of course, admirable. Especially do I believe in a positive ruling that men taking consular positions should really know the language of the country to which they are accredited.—JACOB VAN VECHTEN OLCOTT, Member of Congress from New York.

In relation to the work of the National Business League in elevating the standard of the American consular service, I beg to say that I am in hearty sympathy with all wise movements along that line. Our foreign commerce may be vitally affected by the character of our consular officials. In that connection I have been of the belief that if more care were exercised in the appointment of consular officers in the first instance the service would be in better shape. In past years there has been a tendency to appoint retired business men and in some instances broken-down politicians or impecunious relatives of influential men to consular offices without much regard to their abilities.

If good, clean-cut, energetic business men be selected to fill those offices it would

be the best reform in my judgment that could be adopted. The chief difficulty in this policy is that the service does not offer inducements enough for the right class of men to go into it. I do not take much stock in theoretical training or scholastic standards for that service. More depends upon the good, sound business judgment and the enterprise of the officers than anything else. The consular reform law enacted at the recent session of Congress, in my opinion, will go far toward improving the service.—EDWARD D. CRUMPACKER, Member of Congress from Indiana.

We are most heartily in favor of enactment of the merit system and other provisions eliminated from consular bill No. 1,345. The spoils system is certainly erroneous, and would not be tolerated in any private business that one wished to make a success of.—T. STEWART WHITE, President White & Friant Lumber Company, Grand Rapids, Mich.

We fail to see how any patriotic and intelligent citizen, particularly a business man, could do otherwise than favor enactment of the *merit system* and the provisions eliminated from consular bill No. 1,345. The steadily growing interests and the dignity of our country demand that our foreign representatives be at least the equals to the most competent consuls sent abroad by European nations, and without the merit system our consular service can certainly not be improved.—JOHN WILDR, Secretary Helvetia Condensing Company, Highland, Ill.

My position has been and is strongly in favor of the *merit system*, which, if applied impartially, will result in raising the American consular service to a much higher standard.—GEORGE SUTHERLAND, United States Senator from Utah.

I am heartily in favor of the adoption of the *merit system* in reference to our consular service as well as to the promotion of officials therein.—CHARLES M'GAVIN, Member of Congress from Illinois.

As a general proposition, the *merit system*

cannot be excelled. In my opinion, without having heard both sides, it would apply equally as well to the American consular service as to any other. —JOSEPH W. FORDNEY, Member of Congress from Michigan.

We are very much in favor of putting our consular service on the *merit system*. The writer traveled several months in the Orient the early part of this year and became much impressed with the necessity of a great change in the consular system. The government should not only see to it that the men appointed to these important positions are adapted to the business from an educational standpoint, but that they should be men of tact. Furthermore, the government should, in my opinion, supply better and more prominent offices for the consuls. It is my observation that the English and German governments secure, wherever it is possible, the most prominent location at all of the important seaport cities in the Orient and as a rule they have excellent permanent buildings, while the United States consulate is difficult to find, and in practically every case, so far as my observation goes, occupies rented quarters. It is difficult for any one who has not traveled in the Orient to appreciate how much our trade depends upon the kind of a consul we have. The oriental mind is trained to respect and obey public officials. If a man were to go to Shanghai, as an illustration, to engage in any kind of business, if the consul did not give him a good recommendation he might as well pack up his goods and return home, as the Chinese would have absolutely no dealings with him unless he was recommended by the consul. This I know, not by personal experience, but from observation and from statements of men who have had experience.—P. B. SMITH, General Manager St. Anthony and Dakota Elevator Company, Minneapolis.

We certainly do favor the enactment of a law providing for the *merit system* in the consular service of this government. We are cor-  
- in favor of any measure in any direction

which will raise the standard of business quality and integrity, and improve the character of our government service.—HART, SCHAFFNER & MARX, Chicago.

The merit system is the only system or plan of qualification for officeholding that any self-respecting people can afford to tolerate. The appointing power has the right and duty of deciding upon the merits of the officeholder. If such decision is controlled by considerations of personal advantage to the appointing power, a great wrong is done to the country; but how can this be prevented? "Is he qualified, is he honest?" seems to cover the entire demand for "merit" that is practicable.—JOHN T. MORGAN, United States Senator from Alabama.

I believe in the system of promotion of consular officials and appointment to the consular service based on efficiency and the *merit system* generally, and shall be very glad to add whatever assistance I am capable of to the improvement in the service, which is so much to be desired.—CHARLES S. WHARTON, Member of Congress from Illinois.

I am in hearty sympathy with an improved consular service. This will be one of the important reforms inaugurated during President Roosevelt's administration.—E. STEVENS HENBY, Member of Congress from Connecticut.

We are most heartily in favor of the *merit system* and the enactment of the provisions discarded from consular bill No. 1,345, and trust that the National Business League will be successful in its efforts to accomplish this end.—F. R. BACON, President Cutler-Hammer Manufacturing Company, Milwaukee.

I greatly desire the early enactment of the provisions eliminated from the original consular bill No. 1,345 and covered by the President's order of June 27, 1906.—CHARLES H. HAPGOOD, President Hapgood Plow Company, Alton, Ill.

I favor a *merit system* for appointments to and promotions in the American consular service, and therefore I would be disposed to

cord favorable consideration to any legislation looking particularly to such end as is advocated by leading business men throughout the country making daily use of the consular service.—CHARLES DICK, United States Senator from Ohio.

I indorse the *merit system* in connection with the consular and diplomatic service.—ABIGAIL A. WILEY, Member of Congress from Alabama.

I am an enthusiastic advocate of American consular reform. Appointments and promotions should be made on merit exclusively, which merit should not be determined by civil service examination, such as is usually given, but according to some system that will determine the actual fitness of the applicant. As a member of Congress I shall be pleased to do anything I can to advance this reform.—EVERIS A. HAYES, Member of Congress from California.

We are emphatically in favor of taking the American consular service out of politics altogether and applying to it the *merit system*, covering both the appointment and promotion of consuls.—EZRA J. WARNER, JR., Secretary Sprague, Warner & Co., Chicago.

Regarding the American consular service, I consider efficiency a question of first importance in that service. The system that will best accomplish this purpose will receive my support.—WELDON B. HEYBURN, United States Senator from Idaho.

I am of the opinion that the American consular service can be and ought to be improved. It does not accomplish for the business interests of our country what a thoroughly well-organized consular service should accomplish. I hope some plan based on the *merit system* may be devised at an early date and be put into operation. I think much good would result to our foreign commerce if this were done.—JOHN A. STERLING, Member of Congress from Illinois.

I heartily indorse the *merit system* in connection with appointments to the American consular service, and think it is a rule which should be invoked before this period, and

thereby we would have greater efficiency in our consular service.—MARCUS C. L. KLINE, Member of Congress from Pennsylvania.

I am heartily in favor of the enactment of the merit system as well as the efforts of the National Business League to secure the enactment of the other provisions eliminated from the consular bill No. 1,345. We should apply the same rules to our consular service that are applied in our business. The successful business of to-day is that in which the *merit system* is recognized. It is equally important that our consuls should be selected with the same care and they should be conspicuous for their fitness, ability and character.—HENRY S. HAWLEY, President Railroad Supply Company, Chicago.

I am in favor of the *merit system* for appointment and promotion in our foreign service—consular—but I am not in favor of the President's bill of this first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress.—HERNANDO D. MONEY, United States Senator from Mississippi.

I am heartily in favor of public measures 1 to 7 exclusive, as suggested by the National Business League for the permanent improvement of the consular service, and shall use my best endeavors to aid in bringing about the desired result. Our consular service at present is in many instances in a deplorable condition; many men who are totally unqualified are stationed at important posts, and do absolutely nothing toward furthering the commercial interests of the United States. Another fact is that in general the consular service is entirely too poorly paid to interest good men.—GUSTAV A. SCHNEEBELL, Member of Congress from Pennsylvania.

I gladly indorse the *merit system* in connection with appointments to the American consular service, and for the promotion of consular officials for demonstrated efficiency, and would more earnestly indorse some system of impartial enforcement of a *merit system*, in spite of the power in the executive departments to favor

by promotion and transfer at will or the will of some powerful personal or political influence.—AMOS L. ALLEN, Member of Congress from Maine.

In re the *merit system* as a provision in connection with appointments to the American consular service, and for the promotion of consular officials for demonstrated ability, I am fully in accord with the league's stand in this matter, and I believe it to be a proposition that should be speedily adopted.—WILLIAM H. RYAN, Member of Congress from New York.

I am in hearty sympathy with the proposition of applying the *merit system* as a necessary provision in connection with appointments to the American consular service and for the promotion of consular officials for demonstrated fitness and efficiency.—FINIS J. GARRETT, Member of Congress from Tennessee.

I certainly think that the consular bill should have provided for the *merit system*, and that the service should be removed from the sphere of political influence, that before appointments are made to that service candidates should submit to a proper examination, and that the tenure of office should be during good behavior. I do not, however, favor the limit of 21 to 40 years, nor do I favor proportional representation among the states and territories.—CHARLES T. BALLARD, President Ballard & Ballard Company, Louisville.

I am most heartily in favor of the amendments to the consular law recommended by the National Business League. I cannot understand how any man, not simply a politician, can oppose the *merit system* of appointment and promotion of consuls; or the provision that consuls be familiar with at least two modern languages; or the complete Americanization of the consular service, which to me is one of the most important of the changes proposed.—WILSON H. DOR, Cashier Home National Bank, Elgin, Ill.

The National Association of Agricultural Im-

plement and Vehicle Manufacturers adopted the following resolutions:

"WHEREAS, The Fifty-ninth Congress at its first session enacted amended bill No. 1,345 for the reorganization of the American consular service; and

"WHEREAS, Thereafter the President of the United States, by executive order, made operative the vital provisions of the said consular bill No. 1,345, which had been eliminated by the Senate and House; and

"WHEREAS, The executive order gives no assurance of permanence and is liable to be annulled by any succeeding administration; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the National Association of Agricultural Implement and Vehicle Manufacturers, in convention assembled in the City of Chicago this 11th day of October, 1906, hereby respectfully requests that the *merit system* of appointment and promotion of consular officials and the other important provisions included in the executive order be, as a measure for the betterment of the consular service, enacted into law during the forthcoming session of the Fifty-ninth Congress.

"HERBERT E. MILLS, President.

"Attest: JAMES A. SANFORD, Secretary."

The Transmississippi Commercial Congress, at its Kansas City session last November, declared as follows:

"We again earnestly urge such a thorough organization of our consular system as to secure the most efficient service to our business interests; and we believe that this can be best accomplished by having appointments based upon experience, ability and character, unbiassed by any political considerations, thus insuring that efficiency which is only attained by experience. We request the Congress of the United States to enact into law the executive order on this subject.

"This is to certify that the above resolution



was passed at the seventeenth annual session of the Transmississippi Commercial Congress, held in Kansas City, Mo., November 20-23, 1906.

"DAVID R. FRANCIS, President.

"Attest: ARTHUR F. FRANCIS, Secretary."

Resolution adopted by the National Convention at Washington, January, 1907:

"WHEREAS, By the Act of Congress, approved April 5, 1906, entitled 'An Act to provide for the reorganization of the consular service of the United States,' the consular offices were for the first time in many years classified and graded with appropriate salaries, and some existing evils, such as the fee system, were removed, and other improvements were introduced; and

"WHEREAS, The President, on June 27, 1906, issued an Executive Order based on the Civil Service Act of January 16, 1883, and the Consular Reorganization Act of April 5, 1906, by which, among other things, he applied the merit system of appointment and promotion to the consular service, providing for entrance through the lower grades after suitable examinations and promotions for merit, the effect of which order, if made permanent and faithfully observed, will be to remove the consular service from the domain of politics and to create a permanent and efficient department, thereby greatly promoting the commercial interests of the country; therefore be it

"Resolved, By the National Convention for the Extension of the Foreign Commerce of the United States, that the Congress be strongly urged to enact into law the substance of the President's Executive Order of June 27, 1906, applying the merit system of appointment and promotion in the consular service, to the end that the approval of all branches of the government may thus be stamped upon this measure, and that it may become a permanent feature of foreign service of the nation."

## OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

Out of the Lodge Bill (as originally drafted and introduced) and its enforcement will develop a procedure that will make the Consular Service an honorable career. Young men may enter it with the assurance that merit will win promotion, and our colleges and universities will soon begin, in their department of commerce, to train students especially for this service. Finally, we will have on hand men who speak other languages than their own, which is a very desirable part of a consul's equipment.—**SAN FRANCISCO CALL.**

Not until our Consular Service is put on a business basis and is entirely alienated from "spoils" can we expect to secure competent commercial representatives to extend our markets abroad.—**THE BOSTON JOURNAL.**

The National Business League, an organization including in its membership the representative men of the industrial and commercial world from every state in the Union, is already busy with arrangements for renewing, at the coming session of Congress, its energetic and determined campaign for the reform of the consular service. Its first purpose, that of establish a department of commerce, with its chief a cabinet member, having been accomplished the league can now concentrate its energies on promotion of the kindred project for removing the consular service from the spoils division, and putting it on a business basis by having all appointments and promotions made by the *merit system*.

The men behind the movement for consular reorganization are not doctrinaires or theoretical reformers, but practical business men, heads of great manufacturing and mercantile concerns, bankers, importers, exporters, presidents of boards of trade, chambers of commerce and grain exchanges. They are men practically familiar not only with the needs of trade, but with the business of a consular officer, and are not to be deceived as to the proper qualifications for such a position or the proper

charge of its duties. Their demand for sweeping reorganization of the service is born of bitter experience with its present inadequacy, incompetency and ignorance, and they represent sufficient material interests to insure them a hearing, even from the most stupid and selfish patronage broker in either house.

What they ask is that, since this service is designed especially to promote our business interests abroad, it be put in the hands of men capable of accomplishing that purpose. To this end they would abolish the time-honored system of using these appointments as rewards for more or less dubious political services to Representatives and Senators.—**THE DETROIT TRIBUNE.**

It is of vital importance to the extension of American trade that the business agents of this country in foreign lands should be men of capacity, intelligence and particular suitability, and that they should not be mere political time-servers.—**THE KANSAS CITY STAR AND TIMES.**

The British, German and French consuls in the Latin republics are men appointed on personal merit alone. They speak the language of the country. They are good "mixers." They are anxious to please merchants. They gratify whims. They explain and point out special advantages. In fine, they are more like commercial drummers of proved ability, tact and courtesy. At the same time, they are highly educated and qualified to enter the best circles of society. It is by appointing men of this kind, and of this kind only, that the United States can hope to promote its commercial interests abroad to the extent that it desires.—**THE ST. LOUIS MIRROR.**

Great Britain has schools in which her consuls receive instruction, and from which they are graduated with certificates which entitle them to appointment without examination. These schools are of a high type, and if all appointments were made from their lists of graduates, there would be no complaint. In Germany there are schools of a similar char-

acter, and the German Emperor for years has insisted that all consular appointments should be made with reference to them. The effect of this system has been wonderful in the enlargement of German trade.—THE MINNEAPOLIS JOURNAL.

When this reform is once established, everybody will look back with amazement on the previous condition of servitude to which American merchants and manufacturers were bound. A generation hence it will be hard to believe that it was possible for a Congressman to use the office of consul as a mere living for any party henchman out of a job, regardless of his qualifications for the duties of the office.—THE NEW YORK EVENING POST.

We need legislation, most of all, to give permanence to the Consular Service. Unless intending candidates can be assured of tenure of office abroad, uninfluenced by party changes at home, there will be little inducement to the best men to undertake a career which, properly conducted, should appeal to every young man of education and spirit. The occasionally good consuls who have graced the service seem to be those who have had influence with both parties, and thus have been able long to maintain their positions. Their reports, as published by the Department of Commerce and Labor, always meet with attention, because their experience fits them to be acute judges of commercial conditions. Under a proper law, all our consuls would be such judges as these nor would any consul expect to retain office by fostering political influence at home rather than by developing commercial efficiency abroad.—THE OUTLOOK.

Senators and representatives will be loth to give up this patronage, but the promotion and extension of our export trade is vastly more important than the payment of political debts by shunting the creditor into a position where he can live off the emoluments without, in many cases, giving a due return in service.—THE TOLEDO BLADE.

*"The vast natural resources, increased facilities for production and rapidly expanding commerce of America make it imperatively necessary that her foreign service be fully equal to all reasonable demands."* So runs a letter sent by the National Business League to members of Congress in behalf of the consular reform bill. The point is well made.

We have outgrown the age when our foreign service was useful only as a means of "taking care" of divers and sundry political hangers-on, who, being nuisances at home, were bundled up, hustled into consulships and sent abroad to whittle and while away their time. Today we need quick, competent men in these foreign posts and we need system in the conduct of their offices.—THE LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL.

President Roosevelt's determination to fill important vacancies in the Consular Service by promotion of capable and deserving men is independent of his plan to have Congress enact legislation for general consular reform, of course; for while his program will accomplish in the main what is proposed to gain by legislation—a service of competence and experience in the important posts—there will be no guarantee, until we have laws compelling such a practice, that his successor will not upset his admirable scheme. Indeed, without action by Congress making permanent the methods which President Roosevelt will pursue, we might in the end come to a worse estate, by contrast, than we were in before. Imagine, for example, the reproach to this Government and the discredit to our consular service if, after five years of the Roosevelt method, another President should go back to the old way—the way of professional politics. We should then have a situation where the consular officials, carefully trained and wisely selected for their abilities, would have elevated the service to a high degree of efficiency, establishing such confidence in it that our merchants and other citizens would rely on it with the utmost trust to perform work which is now done independently

of the consuls, owing to their incapacity or general unfitness. But if the men of experience and worth were all swept out, as they could be, in a grab for public patronage, not only should we have the absurdity of dispensing with the services of all our best and most competent consuls, replaced with new material selected for its political value—for they would be in the best posts, which would be most eagerly sought in the spoils hunt—but we should have the direct and positive damage done to those of our citizens engaged in foreign trade, both of having their interests muddled after a long respite from such misfortune, and of being unable for a long time to get their old lines (whereby they did their own work, so far as the consular service is concerned) re-established and in successful operation.—NEW YORK PRESS.

It ought to be plain that a highly efficient Consular Service is not to be expected so long as consular appointments are handed out as rewards for party service, with but little regard for the fitness of the appointee for the work to which he is assigned, or appreciation of the importance of the work to be done.

A system under which men cannot be expected to do much more than gain the experience needed for the efficient discharge of consular duties, before they are liable to be thrown out to make room for other inexperienced men waiting for their rewards for personal or party service, is certainly not calculated to secure great efficiency in the promotion of American commercial interests abroad.—THE CHICAGO CHRONICLE.

Secretary Root spoke the truth when he told the House Committee on Appropriations that the Consular Service would never become thoroughly efficient until it was taken out of politics; until Representatives and Senators are cured of the pestiferous delusion that hustling to land appointees in office is a true legislative function, enhancing a legislator's dignity and extending his reputation and power.—NEW YORK TRIBUNE.

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The National Business League declares the conviction of "practically the entire business interests of this country that only the selection of consular officials on the basis of merit and ability, rather than on account of party affiliation or service, can the Consular Service be brought to the condition of universal efficiency demanded by the manufacturing and commercial interests."

This emphatic protest against a system which treats as political spoils a branch of the service which is primarily commercial in its nature, and should have no other purpose than that of conserving the nation's commercial interests, is significant and should be heeded. American producers and exporters have a right to expect that the consular body be composed of specially trained and highly efficient commercial agents and not of broken down politicians seeking the jobs as political rewards, or of gentlemen in need of employment who have no essential friends to unload them on the Government.—THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS.

In his last message to Congress, President Roosevelt laid much stress upon the necessity for reorganizing the Consular Service, and for reformatory suggestions were in response to a very insistent demand from the business interests of the country.

A bill in line with the reform demanded was introduced in the Senate which met the approval of Secretary Root. In fact, the bill regarded as an administration measure and provisions were such as to meet the entire approval of American exporters, the business men most interested in having competent men at the American consuls abroad. The National Business League, the organization of American manufacturers and exporters who have been the prime mover of the agitation for reform, sent out circular letters calling attention to the unfortunate fate of the bill in the Senate and asking persons interested to write to their representatives requesting adoption of the measure as originally drafted.

If enacted into law as originally drawn, the bill would have remedied the defects in the consular service and given the country consuls second to those of no foreign nation.

But when the Senate got through with the bill it never would have been recognized by its friends. It was amended and passed in a way that left the present spoils system practically unchanged. The vital provisions eliminated were those for the examining board, for the *merit system*, and for knowledge of at least one modern language besides English as a qualification on the part of an American consul. As passed by the Senate, the consular bill has really no excuse for existence. It is emasculated until it serves practically no purpose of reform.—ATLANTA CONSTITUTION.

The experience of this bill (Consular Bill No. 1345) in Congress discloses what obstacles lie in the way of any change. Its most important provision—that for taking the service out of politics—met with short shrift at the hands of our Conscript Fathers. They would naturally be loth to give up any of their prerogatives, and the prerogative so long established as the one of supplying men for the foreign service happens to be the one which most invests them with outward and visible power in the eyes of their constituents. If his touch of nature gives one to suspect, however, that the authors and protectors of our liberties are not so completely wrapped up in the oftier problems of statecraft as might conceivably be the case, one must nevertheless acknowledge that the greater enemies of the Consular service are the aforementioned constituents. For what they insist upon Congress has to accord. And they do not, as yet, insist upon competent Consular Service. They do not realize what that service is or might become. Many of them look vaguely upon it as a curious institution whose origin is veiled in obscurity, to which, since it unaccountably exists, may be exploited for the most fantastic ends. Even business men for whom primarily t



great organization is maintained are extraordinarily slow to take in its possibilities. They are often the last to see that there are sound practical reasons why all other civilized countries, and several which we are pleased not to consider as such, train men to become scouts of commerce, pay them on the same scale as their higher public servants, retain their services as long as possible, and pension them upon retirement. So it is that our Consular Service is one of the last survivals of our Arcadian period. We have become a great nation without knowing it. We are like those who carry the customs of the village into the life of the town. We have a first-rate country, but our imaginations are still fifth-rate.—H. G. DWIGHT, *The Bookman*, May, 1906.

Heretofore consuls have been appointed on political grounds solely. Political workers and men of local importance that the dominant party must take care of have been landed in comfortable berths in the Consular Service. As the position lasts only for the life of the administration making the appointment, the incumbent has no special incentive to do more than the absolutely necessary work. Men are generally appointed who have no special aptitude for the duties of a consul, and the wonder is not that there are many failures and mistakes, but that the failures and mistakes are not greater than they are.

Under the proposed new law young men will be appointed after examination to the lowest grades in the Consular Service, and after an apprenticeship and careful training will be gradually promoted according to fitness through the higher grades until the post of consul-general is reached. Under such a system the Consular Service can be considered a permanent profession, and as such officials will have the certainty of continuous employment during good behavior, with reasonable promotion assured, there will be every incentive to do the very best work.—NEW ORLEANS PICAYUNE.

The American consular service has been one of the departments of the government which it has been hardest to put on a basis of business-like efficiency. Some other nations have had too much red tape in their consular systems. America, on the contrary, has gone very much too far to the other extreme. American consuls at their best have probably been more efficient men than most foreign consuls, but American consuls at their best are so few and far between as to count for little or nothing in judging the whole service. The ordinary American consul is merely taking a well-paid vacation at the expense of the government. His political backers get the benefit, but the government is the loser.

For many years the National Business League, which has its headquarters in this city, has agitated for a reform which will put the service under the merit system. It has had strong support, too, in Washington, where both President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Root have energetically demanded such legislation. After many defeats a bill granting "half a loaf" was secured from Congress a year ago. It classified the consular positions, provided for an inspection service and abolished fees. The merit system of promotion was, however, eliminated by an unfriendly Congress.

President Roosevelt restored the omitted sections of the bill by administrative order so [redacted] able, but his work was at the [redacted] and its benefits die with the [redacted] administration. The National Business League has, therefore, decided to urge further legislation at the next session. Its programme includes merit appointments and promotions, language qualifications, and complete Americanization of the service. It would have tenure of office last during efficiency, and allow positions to be filled, where merit is equal, on a basis of proportional representation of all the states.

Such legislation is necessary. It should be demanded with such great vigor that Congress will no longer refuse it.—CHICAGO RECORD-EXAMINER, June 6, 1907.

[redacted]